241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
791 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
● [769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

[541] Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Ava/gs.t]

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

769 /62 cont./ out in the same sequence in every instance. They will be briefly reported here.

[773] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact [777] between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared

1. See p. 84.

by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

612 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala.
793 His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

793/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[84] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

554 Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of
602 relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is con-
612 centrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one
769 hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the
182 other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

794 The Ornament-Worship Community
114 Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

[113]

3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
● [769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
[773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

346 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the
778 first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

●[769 The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear.
178] Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two
778 last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built.
778 It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are
[782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

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1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

1. Chabot
~~Chabot~~ E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

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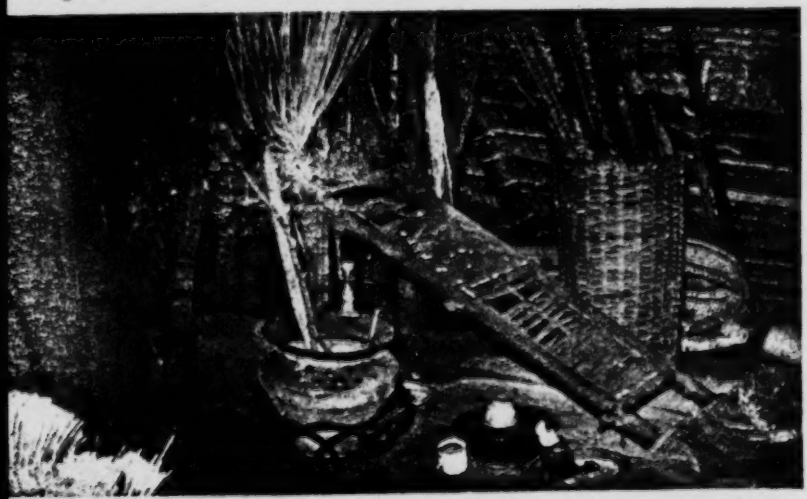

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
845

We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

● 769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friederic y). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
582 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
829 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman. I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

●769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.